



NUMISMATIC COLLATERAL OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN ABOLITION

By Ernie Nagy

NUMISMATIC COLLATERAL OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN ABOLITION

By Ernie Nagy



Collateral--serving to support or reinforce: Ancillary

Copyright © 2020 by Ernie Nagy

Printed in the United States of America

First Printing, 2020

Book design provided by Lianna Spurrier under sponsorship of Newman Numismatic Portal.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....	9
Before Abolition.....	10
British Abolition Origins.....	11
Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Colonizations of Freed Slaves.....	17
British Abolition of Slavery Itself.....	21
British Outreach to America.....	24
Antebellum American Abolition Efforts.....	28
The United States Civil War.....	38
Acknowledgements.....	44
Numismatic Bibliography.....	45
Citations.....	46

PREFACE

This study began with an exhibit titled *Numismatic Prelude to the Thirteenth Amendment*. The exhibit sought to connect the history of nine British and American medals and tokens in a thread resulting in the legal end to slavery in the United States. As I expanded my research, I realized that the related numismatic material is as broad as the history of abolition is complex. The tokens and medals depicted and described are not comprehensive of all that were issued. In placing these objects within the circumstances of their issuance, I came to realize that although not all of the history of abolition is addressed by numismatics, much of it is.

I intend to continue my research of the numismatics of abolition. I know that a topic this important has been, and will be, addressed by others as well. To further my own investigation, as well as to aid others, citations of sources are included. In many instances these citations reference interpretations of historians. Ideally the citations consist of source documents. There may be no better contemporary source documents than the concise expressions of the legends and mottos engraved on these pieces.

History is best understood with the recognition that as events unfolded, those involved did not know how the conflicts of the day would be resolved. For that reason, I value tokens and medals struck to persuade and influence more so than those issued afterward to celebrate accomplishments. Some of the British medals in this story memorialized achievements in their abolition crusade. All were produced prior to the end of slavery in the United States. As such, I believe, all influenced the course of events culminating in the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.



BEFORE ABOLITION

An estimated 11.8 million slaves were shipped to the Americas from Africa.¹ The image below is from the online collection of the British museum, where it is described as “bronze manilla cast in a two piece mould. Horse-shoe shaped, made of an open circle of brass with flattened ends ... During the Transatlantic slave trade manillas were a frequent medium of exchange for slaves.”²

The ability of the Portuguese, British and French to mass produce this form of money resulted in inflation. Portuguese trader Duarte Pacheco Pereira reported that in the 1490s he purchased slaves at a price of between 12 and 15 brass bracelets per slave,³ and fewer if they were made of copper, which were valued more. The books of the Portuguese ship *Sao Miguel* record that on June 25, 1522 the ship’s pilot paid 50 manillas for the purchase of a 16 year old female slave.⁴

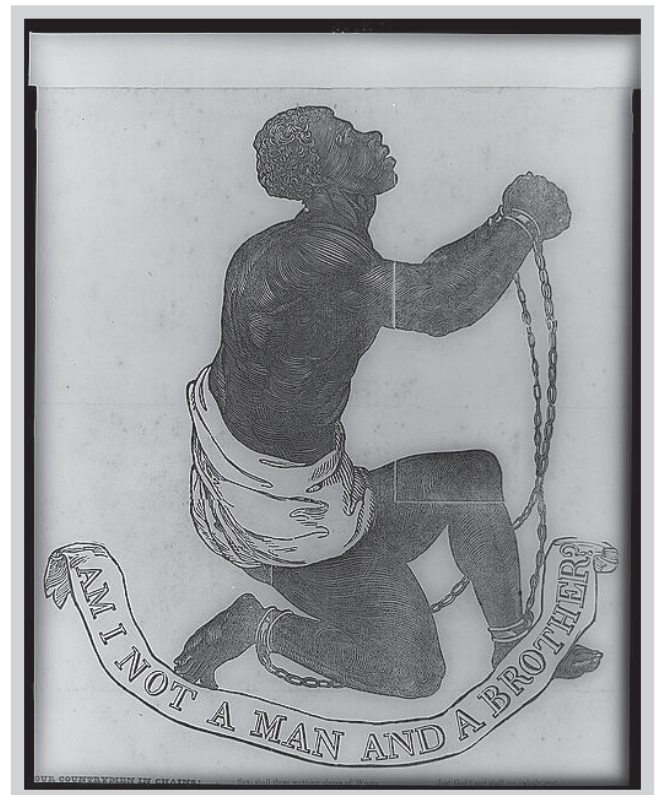


BRITISH ABOLITION ORIGINS

Primitive money facilitated the slave trade; numismatic objects would be used in the campaign to abolish it. British milestones in their effort to end slavery are evidenced by medals. The United States followed Britain, using exonomia reminiscent of that employed by their mother country.

The Americas contained vast lands and resources, but a shortage of labor. Slaves were appropriated to fill this void. A slave could be separated from its family, motivated by beating, and worked to death. In 1651, Thomas Hobbes philosophized that without the social contract of civilization, the state of humanity was “solitary, cruel, ... and short.”⁵ Certainly a slave’s situation could be described similarly. A 1789 speech opening British parliamentary debate on the slave trade estimated that “about 12.5 percent of slaves transported died in the Middle Passage (the voyage from Africa to the Americas), 4.5 percent died on shore before the date of sale, and one-third died in the process of acclimating to the Americas—a total mortality of about 50 percent.”⁶

During 1787, the same year in which the British abolitionists were organizing, the United States held a convention in Philadelphia that wrote a constitution enumerating slaves as three-fifths of a person for purposes of determining congressional representation. The Wedgwood image pictured below would later be used in the United States’ abolition effort. It is archived at the Library of Congress (control #2008661312) where it is described as follows: “The design was originally adopted as the seal of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery in England in the 1780s, and appeared on several medallions for the society made by Josiah Wedgwood as early as 1787.”⁷



British leaders who were key to the abolition movement included writer Thomas Clarkson, politician William Wilberforce, and craftsman Josiah Wedgwood. Numismatic objects document each of their legacies, as well as the campaign for the colonization of freed slaves, ending of the slave trade, and the abolishment of slavery.

Clarkson was a student at Cambridge where in 1785 he was awarded a first prize for “An essay on the slavery and commerce of the human species, particularly the African.”⁸ After, he would devote his life to research and publication of pamphlets and books calling for the abolition of the slave trade and ultimately slavery itself. In May of 1787, Clarkson was one of twelve men who met in a London bookstore and printing shop where they founded the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade.⁹ Clarkson later arranged a dinner party to convince Wilberforce to join the abolition movement. Wilberforce was an articulate member of the British Parliament who had previously read and been moved by Clarkson’s essay.¹⁰ Before passage of anti-slavery legislation could be achieved, a campaign to raise public awareness of the evils of slavery was deployed. This would involve the writings of Clarkson, speeches by Wilberforce, and symbols produced by Josiah Wedgwood.

There is an old saying: “a picture is worth a thousand words.” The English Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, adopted an image of a kneeling slave surrounded by the legend “AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER” as their emblem. Wedgwood, who would soon join the Society, engaged his senior craftsman William Hackwood to design a cameo medallion bearing the emblem.¹¹ Contemporary use of the expression which surrounds the kneeling slave includes a 1788 pamphlet authored by the Reverend Peter Peckard titled “AM I NOT A MAN? AND A BROTHER?”¹² The emblem was used as “a seal for stamping

the wax used to close envelopes,” and was reproduced in books and leaflets, and on snuffboxes, jewelry medallions and Conder Tokens. These were the precursors to political badges and medalets, and “probably the first widespread use of a logo designed for a political cause.”¹³

In 1788, Josiah Wedgwood sent a packet of his medallions to Benjamin Franklin, then president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, with the words



The British Museum # 1909,1201.260

Plaque, caneware and black basalt, oval, ornamented with an applied moulded figure of a chained slave in relief, kneeling, with an inscription impressed above, within a moulded black basalt frame with metal loop for suspension.

Factory of: Wedgwood, Josiah
Modelled by: William Hackwood
 1790 (circa); Etruria (England)

"It gives me great pleasure to be embarking on this occasion in the same great and good cause with you, and I ardently hope for the final completion of our wishes." Franklin wrote back to Wedgwood, "I am persuaded [the medallion] may have an effect equal to that of the best written pamphlet in procuring favour to those oppressed people."¹⁴ Use of the logo is exemplified on Conder Token D&H 1037 pictured below. The legend that circles the reverse of this piece implores "MAY SLAVERY & OPRESSION (sic) CEASE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD". It was "probably issued by the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. The design and legend appear on a wax impression from a seal, measuring 13/8 inches by 11/8 Inches."¹⁵



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1795 (or earlier)	Dalton & Hammer Middlesex 1037	James medalist, Lutwyche manufacturer	ex. Eric P. Newman, August 2016 Heritage Gallery Sale, ex. Steve Hayden	R1
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	28.8 mm	Copper	8.8 g	AU
Obverse Inscription		Edge Inscription	Reverse Inscription	
AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER		PAYABLE IN DUBLIN OR LONDON THIS IS NOT A COIN BUT A MEDAL -+ -+	MAY SLAVERY & OPRESSION CEASE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD + (oppression is misspelled)	

Author's collection, photo by author.

The personification of this emblem was the freed slave Equiano. Equiano's initial contact with the British abolitionists occurred in 1774 when he sought the assistance of early abolitionist Granville Sharp "to save a fellow black from being illegally forced from England into West Indian slavery." In 1783 Equiano called upon Sharp again to bring the Zong incident to his attention. The incident occurred when the commander of a slave ship ordered that 133 of the sickest Africans aboard his ship be thrown overboard under the pretext of insufficient drinking water for the crew. If the sick Africans had died of natural causes the owners would absorb the loss. However if they were dispatched to save the crew, the loss would be covered by

insurance. Equiano informed the abolitionists that the ship's records documented 200 gallons of water when the African's were pitched into the ocean, and 420 gallons when they arrived at their destination.¹⁶ His autobiography *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* was published in 1789. The memoir describes his capture and enslavement as a six year old in what is today Nigeria, his transportation across the Atlantic, his life as a slave in the West Indies and Virginia, his education, and how he was able to buy his freedom and settle in Great Britain. In his narrative, Equiano portrays himself as a gentleman and business man as sophisticated as any British citizen, as any man.¹⁷

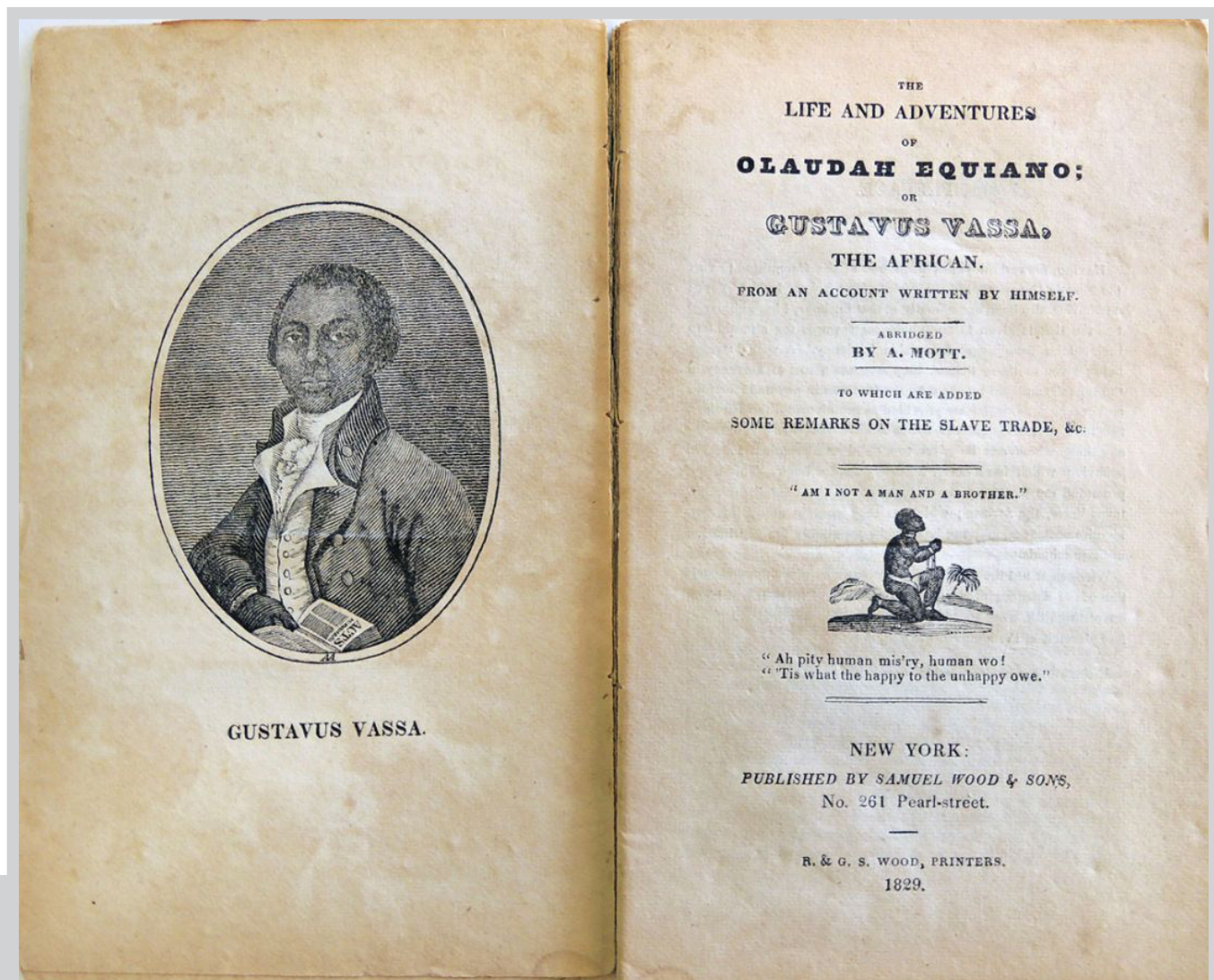


Image from the Graphic Arts Collection, Firestone Library, Princeton University
<https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2016/03/22/olaudah-equiano/>

Equiano sent a note to Wedgwood in November 1788 requesting permission to include his name among a list of subscribers for his soon to be published autobiography, evidencing the well-established friendship between Equiano and Wedgwood.¹⁸ The "List of Subscribers" for the 1794 edition included Thomas Clarkson and Josiah Wedgwood, as well as a letter of introduction from the Reverend Peter Peckard.¹⁹ Later editions of Equiano's book include the

kneeling slave emblem on the title page.²⁰

The kneeling slave device was utilized on copper, brass and white metal Farthing, Half Penny and Penny Conder Tokens.²¹



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
1795	Dalton & Hammer Middlesex 1118	James medalist, Lutwych manufacturer	Heritage Auctions 2020 March 4-5 Wednesday & Thursday World & Ancient Weekly Online Auction #232010	R5
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Coin	Farthing size	Copper	-	MS65 Brown
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	
ADVOCATES FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN / THOS. SPENCE / SIR THOS. MORE / THOS. PAINE / 1795			AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER / JAMES (in exergue)	

Image from Heritage Auctions.

The earliest catalogue which includes this, “The Coin Collectors Companion”, was printed in 1795.²² This establishes a strike date of 1795 or earlier. It is signed, in exergue, by JAMES. Charles James was a London Die-Sinker and Medallist. Biographer Leonard Forrer reports that most of James’ tokens were manufactured by William Lutwych of Birmingham, England.²³

The obverse bears the name of the “Three Thomas’s” (as described in the Spence Catalog referenced above):

- **Thomas Spence** styled himself on tokens as a ‘Bookseller, Dealer in Prints and Coins.’²⁴ He was “not more than five feet high, very honest, simple, single-minded, who loved mankind, and firmly believed that a time would come when men would be virtuous, wise and happy.”²⁵
- **Thomas More** is the author of *Utopia*, published in 1516. It is surprising to see his name listed in this trio. In his fictional kingdom, “slaves tend to whatever is somewhat laborious or sordid.”²⁶ However, the modern reader must recognize that when this token was engraved

in 1795, slavery had been ubiquitous for thousands of years. Although slavery was part of *Utopia*, it was not hereditary. Their slaves “are either prisoners-of-war or, more frequently, criminals.” From the perspective of the 18th century, the slavery in More’s *Utopia* was humanitarian. “Their position is not hopeless, as they may be pardoned and restored to the condition of freedom.”²⁷

- **Thomas Paine** is best known for his authorship of *Common Sense*. Earlier he asked “With what consistency, or decency do Americans complain so loudly of attempts to enslave them, while they hold so many hundred thousands in slavery?”²⁸

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE COLONIZATION OF FREED SLAVES

Before the abolition of slavery, important first steps occurred. The trading of slaves was declared illegal by “An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade,” enacted by the British Parliament on March 25, 1807.²⁹ Clarkson, Wilberforce, and the British abolitionists would have abolished slavery itself if they had been able to do so. They could not. The abolition of the trade in slaves would have to suffice in 1807. “The death rate on the plantations was high, a result of overwork, poor nutrition and work conditions, brutality and disease. Many plantation owners preferred to import new slaves rather than providing the means and conditions for the survival of their existing slaves.”³⁰ One maxim, familiar to plantation owners, was that it was “better to buy than to breed.”³¹ “Worked to death” is today a cliché, but was then a result of a cruel cost benefit calculation. If the abolitionists could not emancipate all from slavery in 1807, elimination of the easy resupply of the slave pool was intended to improve their treatment.

The British government then used Sierra Leone as a naval base from which its slave trade ban was enforced and as a center to which slaves captured in transit across the Atlantic could be brought and freed. Freed Black slaves, who had been liberated by the British from American slavery during the Revolutionary War, were initially settled in Nova Scotia. On March 11, 1792 an estimated 1200 of these “Black Loyalists” were relocated to Sierra Leone.³² The number of slaves freed by the Royal Navy subsequent to the 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade Act would soon exceed the number from the original Nova Scotia resettlement.³³ A token/medal, Eimer 984, was issued that announced: “SLAVE TRADE ABOLISHED BY GREAT BRITAIN in 1807” to anyone who handled it, whether they spoke English or Arabic. The British abolitionists had successfully made their case that despite financial riches yielded by the slave trade, trafficking in human beings was morally wrong. Per Eimer, although these are dated 1807, they were issued in 1814.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1814 (dated 1807)	Eimer 984, KM Sierra Leone Tn1.1	G. F. Pidgeon, John Philip, Birmingham, England	ex. James Curto, ex. Robert Storer, ex. Bob Williams	50,000 minted per Krause
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	35.8 mm	Copper	17.0 g	AU
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
WE ARE ALL BRETHREN / SLAVE TRADE ABOLISHED / BY GREAT BRITAIN / 1807 / G. F. P. (engraver initials)		Reverse Arabic inscriptions in several lines translating the obverse: "Slave trade abolished in England in 1807, in the reign of King George III. We are all brethren" / J. P. (engraver initials) FECIT. (Latin for "he made")		

Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog. Also made in silver and white metal.

The contributions of William Wilberforce were commemorated in a medal fashioned by Thomas Webb, of Birmingham, England. The April, 1809 issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* reports the receipt by the British Museum of a silver version of this medal, describing "On one side there is a Portrait of Wilberforce, Esq, M.P. from a model taken by his permission; on the reverse are several figures happily expressive of the truly Christian Act of our Legislature in putting an end to that iniquitous traffick."³⁴

To the right is a circa 1830 "Map of the West Coast of Africa from Sierra Leone to Cape Palma," showing Liberia at the center of the picture. Sierra Leone, the British colony for freed slaves, is immediately north and west.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1807	BHM 627, Eimer 983	T. Webb	ex. Atlas Numismatics	N (Average number of specimens struck and fairly frequently encountered per BHM)
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	53 mm	Bronze	-	PCGS SP65
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE M. P. THE FRIEND OF
AFRICS

I HAVE HEARD THEIR CRY / SLAVE TRADE /
ABOLISHED / MDCCLXII. (in exergue)

Author's collection, photo by PCGS. Also made in silver.



*Map of the West Coast of Africa
from Sierra Leone to Cape
Palmas, including the colony of
Liberia*

*Created/Published: Philad[elphi]a
[Pa.]: A. Finley, 1830.
Library of Congress Control
Number 96680499*

On January 1, 1808, in the footsteps of the British Parliament's 1807 lead, "Congress formally abolished the transatlantic slave trade, at the earliest date allowed under the Constitution."³⁵



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1833	KM Liberia Tn1 CH-5 Small Ship Var.	John Gibbs Co. Belleville, NJ	-	-
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	28.1 mm	Copper	11.7 g	VF
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
LIBERIA / 1833		AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY ONE CENT / FOUNDED / A. D. / 1816		

Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog.

Liberia KM Tn1 commemorates the "AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY FOUNDED A.D. 1816" by a group of Americans headed by Virginia Congressman Charles Fenton Mercer and New Jersey minister, Robert Finley. Its aim was to promote voluntary migration of freed slaves to West Africa. The society, following the example of the British colony of Sierra Leone, purchased land with funds provided by the Monroe administration to establish Liberia, a colony for freed slaves.³⁶ This token was struck by the John Gibbs Co. at Belleville, New Jersey, a firm which also produced Hard Times tokens from that period. The Liberian tokens were denominated one cent, dated 1833, and issued by the society as a commemorative.³⁷ By 1843, over 4,000 African Americans, most of them former slaves, had been relocated to Liberia. Over 10,000 more would arrive before the Civil War.³⁸ This migration was relatively small in relation to the four million who remained in slavery in 1860.

BRITISH ABOLITION OF SLAVERY ITSELF

The objective of the “Am I Not A Man and a Brother” Conder Token was achieved, at least from a legal perspective, on August 28, 1833, when “An Act for the Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Colonies”³⁹ was passed by the British Parliament. This event is commemorated on Eimer 1276, which portrays King William IV beneath a canopy surrounded by his advisors. The reverse depicts seven Africans dancing around a Freedom Tree above the proclamation “SLAVERY ABOLISHED BY GREAT BRITAIN 1834” in exergue. The act provided £20 million to the former slave holders. The date engraved on the medal was not without caveat. Although the Act was effective AUGUST 1, 1834, the former slaves were to remain “apprentices,” required to work full time for their former masters for up to six years without compensation. Both the “apprentices” and the abolition activists could not help but observe that the condition of the freed slaves had changed little. After petitions from the activists and strikes by the “apprentices” the term of six years was shortened, and on August 1, 1838 they were declared free.⁴⁰



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1834	BHM 1673, EIMER 1276	Tho. Halliday, Birmingham, England	ex. James Curto, ex. Robert Storer, ex. Bob Williams	Not rare per BHM, Vol. 1, pg. 400
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	40.7 mm	White metal	23.2 g	XF
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	
I ADVOCATE THIS BILL AS A / MEASURE OF HUMANITY			SLAVERY ABOLISHED BY / GREAT BRITAIN / 1834	

Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog. Also made in silver and copper.

Of the participants in the effort previously discussed in this article, the craftsman Josiah Wedgwood died on January 3, 1795;⁴¹ the freed slave Equiano died on March 31, 1797;⁴² and the Politician William Wilberforce died on July 29, 1833, three days after the Slavery Abolition Act was passed, but before it went into effect.⁴³ Only Thomas Clarkson lived to see emancipation.

Thomas Clarkson, now the elder statesman of British abolition movement, was the last survivor from the twelve founding members of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade. He was widely recognized for his role in the founding of the Society, his contributions as an essayist and pamphlet writer, and most importantly for his research documenting the horrors of slavery. Clarkson's research involved boarding ships, interviews of slave ship crew members, and collecting objects such as "handcuffs, leg shackles, thumb screws, and a surgical instrument with a screw device called a speculum oris"⁴⁴ which was "used when the slaves are sulky, which frequently happens, that they shut their mouths against all sustenance, and thus with a determination to die, and it was necessary their mouths should be forced open to throw in nutriment, that they who had purchased them might incur no loss by their death."⁴⁵

Perhaps as iconic as the image of the kneeling slave was the diagram of the slave ship *Brookes*. Equiano, once a passenger on such a ship, upon seeing an early rendition of the diagram wrote a letter to the Plymouth Committee which appeared in a London newspaper, the *Public Advertiser*, on February 14, 1789. Equiano wrote: "Having seen a plate representing the form in which Negroes are stowed on board the Guinea ships, which you are pleased to send to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, a worthy friend of mine, I was filled with love and gratitude towards you for your humane interference on behalf of my oppressed countrymen."⁴⁶ Clarkson "reworked and expanded the diagram... which began appearing in newspapers, magazines, books and pamphlets."⁴⁷

Stowage of the British slave ship Brookes under the regulated slave trade act of 1788

Digital ID: (b&w film copy neg. LC-USZ62-34160) cph 3a34658
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a34658>

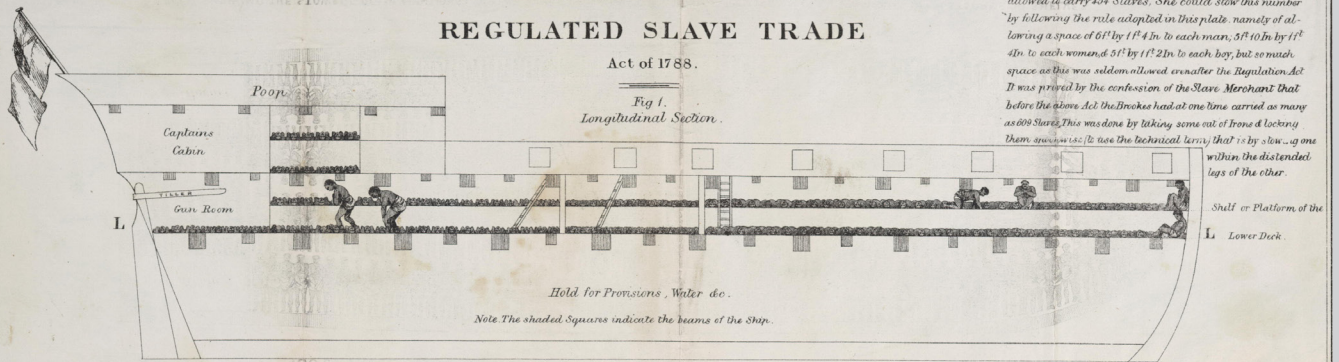
Reproduction Number: LC-USX62-34160 (b&w film copy neg.)

Repository: Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections Division. Washington, D.C., 20540, USA
<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3a34658>

STOWAGE OF THE BRITISH SLAVE SHIP "BROOKES" UNDER THE REGULATED SLAVE TRADE

Act of 1788.

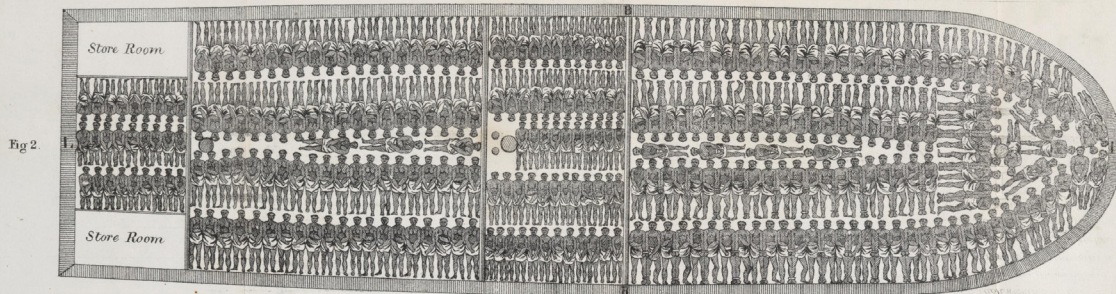
Fig 1.
Longitudinal Section.



Note. The *Brookes*, after the Regulation Act of 1788, was allowed to carry 454 Slaves. She could stow this number by following the rule adopted in this plate, namely of allowing a space of 6ft by 1ft 4in. to each man, 5ft 10in by 1ft 4in. to each woman, and 5ft by 1ft 2in. to each boy, but so much space as this was seldom allowed even after the Regulation Act. It was proved by the confession of the Slave Merchant that before the above Act the *Brookes* had at one time carried as many as 600 Slaves. This was done by taking some out of Irons & locking them *snuggles* (i.e. the technical term) that is by stowing one within the distended legs of the other.

PLAN OF LOWER DECK WITH THE STOWAGE OF 292 SLAVES

130 OF THESE BEING STOWED UNDER THE SHELVES AS SHEWN IN FIGURE B & FIGURE 3.



PLAN SHEWING THE STOWAGE OF 130 ADDITIONAL SLAVES ROUND THE WINGS OR SIDES OF THE LOWER DECK BY MEANS OF PLATFORMS OR SHELVES (IN THE MANNER OF GALLERIES IN A CHURCH) THE SLAVES STOWED ON THE SHELVES AND BELOW THEM HAVE ONLY A HEIGHT OF 2 FEET 7 INCHES BETWEEN THE BEAMS: AND FAR LESS UNDER THE BEAMS. See Fig 1.

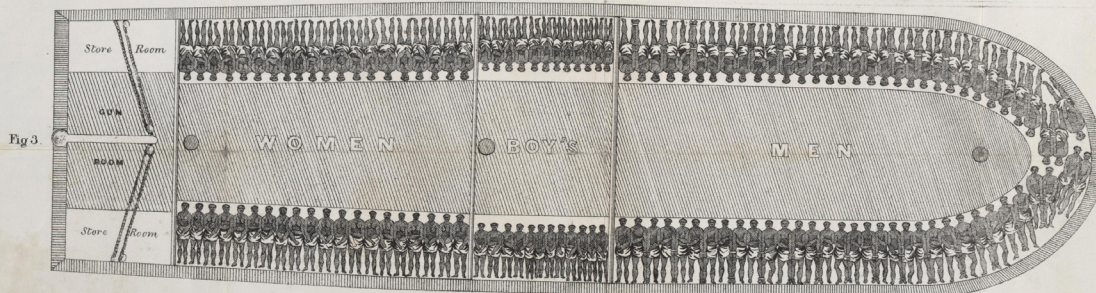


Fig 4.
Cross Section
at the Poop.

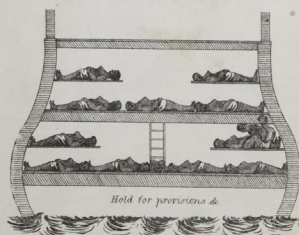


Fig 5.
Cross Section
amidships

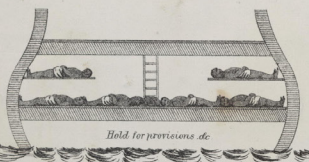


Fig 6.
Lower tier of Slaves under the Poop.

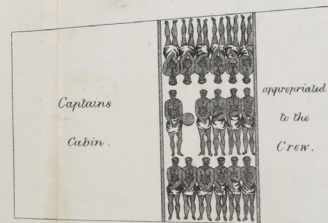
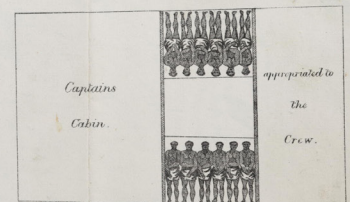


Fig 7.
Shelf tier of Slaves under the Poop.



Scale of Feet
0 5 10 20 30

BRITISH OUTREACH TO AMERICA

After the elimination of slavery across their empire, British abolitionists re-directed their efforts to places where slavery continued. BHM 1666 proclaims “A VOICE FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO AMERICA” in exergue beneath the “AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER” kneeling slave device. The abolitionist “Voice to America” was not without American intellectual foundation. Jonathan Edwards Jr., in a 1791 sermon wrote, that at one time, “‘scarcely a man in this country thought either the slave trade or the slavery of Negroes to be wrong.’ His own father, the famous theologian and revivalist, Jonathan Edwards Sr., had owned slaves. But the practice could no longer be excused. ‘Our pious fathers,’ wrote the younger Edwards, ‘lived in a time of ignorance which God winked at; but now he commandeth all men everywhere to repent of this wickedness.’”⁴⁸



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1834	BHM 1666	Joseph Davis, Birmingham, England	ex. F. C. C. Boyd Collection, ex. Michael Dlugosh	Very rare per Bowers & Merena 3/1985 auction, pg. 152
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	43.5 mm	White metal	24.2 g	Choice AU; semi-prooflike, holed for suspension
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	
AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER / DAVIS (engraver) BIRM / A VOICE FROM GREAT BRITAIN / TO AMERICA. / 1834			THIS IS THE LORD'S DOING; IT IS MARVELOUS IN OUR EYES. PSALMS 118 V. 23 / JUBILEE AUG 1 / 1834	

Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog. Also made in silver; white metal not listed in BHM.

The reverse legend, THIS IS THE LORDS DOING: IT IS MARVELLOUS IN OUR EYES PSALM 118 V.23, should be understood in the context of the religious focus of the twelve Quakers and evangelical Anglicans who in 1787 first met in a London bookshop.⁴⁹ The devout Christian Equiano quoted Psalm 26, “I glorified God in my heart, in whom I trusted,” when he wrote “I, who had been a slave in the morning trembling at the will of another, (had) become his own master, and completely free.”⁵⁰ The reverse inscription, JUBILEE AUG^T 1 1834 would have resonated with those familiar with Leviticus 25 Verse 8: “And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a *jubilee* unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.”

Biblical authority was also used by the defenders of slavery. Noah’s ‘Curse of Ham’ decreed “a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.”⁵¹ Africans were said to be descendants of Ham. Jesus was silent on the subject of slavery. However Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians directed, “Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ.”⁵² Those who argued that slavery was a positive good claimed that slavery enabled Africans to come into contact with Christianity and civilization. Some claimed “favourable trade winds from Africa to the Americas were evidence of a providential design”⁵³

Pro slavery advocates issued no medals engraved with scripture, with the possible exception of the Barbados Pineapple Penny. This token depicts a slave above the words I SERVE, an inscription consistent with Paul’s letter to the Ephesians.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
1788	Lyle # 61, Obv. 1, Rev. B	Issuer: Sir Phillip Gibbs, Produced by John Milton	Greg Hannigan RC	Rare
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	32 mm	Copper	13.9 g	XF
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
I SERVE		BARBADOES PENNY 1788		
Author's collection. Attribution and rarity per https://coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/Barbados.intro.html .				

In 1839 Clarkson, now an octogenarian, was elected the first president of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society. In 1840 the Society organized an anti-slavery convention which celebrated Clarkson by naming him as the principal speaker,⁵⁴ and with medallions issued by Joseph Davis of Birmingham (BHM 1977, Eimer 1342). The obverse bust was modelled after a portrait painting by Benjamin Robert Haydon.⁵⁵ The kneeling enchained slave device on the reverse is surrounded by legends of AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER/ BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY / PRESIDENT THOMAS CLARKSON AGED 81.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1840	BHM 1977, Eimer 1342	Joseph Davis, Birmingham, England, after B. R. Hayden	ex. John Kraljevic	Normal rarity per BHM
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	52 mm	Bronze	56.4 g	UNC
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
THOMAS CLARKSON (to left of bust) B. R. Hayden DES.		AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER / DAVIS BIRM. (in exergue) / BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY / GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION HELD IN LONDON 1840 PRESIDENT THOMAS CLARKSON AGED 81.		

Author's collection, photo by author. Also made in white metal.

A second medal, BHM 1979, also fashioned by Davis, depicts a forward facing bust of Clarkson. Joseph Davis, the maker of these medals, was a gilt toy manufacturer by trade and had risen to the status of Die Engraver to his Royal Highness Prince Albert.⁵⁶ Albert was named "President of the African Civilization Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade." On June 1 1840 he presided over their convention at Exeter Hall, and delivered opening remarks promising the "exertions of England to abolish that atrocious traffic in human beings...(would) not relax its efforts until it has finally, and forever, put an end to the state of things so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity and to the best feelings of our nature."⁵⁷ This was the German born Albert's first public speech since he and Victoria were married on February 10, 1840. Prior to his speech Albert had carefully prepared what he was to say, committed it to memory, and rehearsed it for the Queen.⁵⁸



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1840	BHM 1979	Joseph Davis, Birmingham, England	ex. James Curto, ex. Robert Storer, ex. Bob Williams	Very rare per BHM, Vol. 2 pg. 51
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	43.5 mm	White metal	25.8 g	XF
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
THO ^S CLARKSON PRESIDENT OF THE ANTI SLAVERY CONVENTION IN LONDON JUNE 12. 1840+		BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY / DAVIS (engraver) BIRM. / AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER		

Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog.

The General Anti-slavery Convention of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held later that same month,⁵⁹ also at Exeter Hall. On June 12, 1840, the opening of the convention and the date engraved on BHM 1979, the London Committee voted to exclude women from the convention floor. Among the Americans at the convention were Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison, in protest of the exclusion of women, then made the decision to not take his seat on the floor, but to remove to the balcony. His move would draw much attention during the proceedings; the committee's exclusion of women would later have profound effect. A close examination of the wear suffered on the example of the Clarkson medal which is illustrated, with its high relief forward facing profile, has also been snubbed.

As the convention activities unfolded, those on the floor were frequently seen turning to observe Garrison in the balcony. Every time his name was mentioned in a speech the conference would applaud. Those on the floor witnessed a parade of attendees trooping up to the balcony to pay their respects to Garrison.⁶⁰

Their exclusion from the floor galvanized the women. It was at this convention that Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton first met. They formed a friendship and alliance which would go beyond the abolition campaign to a crusade for women's rights and suffrage. In 1848 Mott and Stanton organized a convention to discuss the "social, civil, and religious condition of woman." The Seneca Falls convention was the origin of the women's suffrage movement.⁶¹

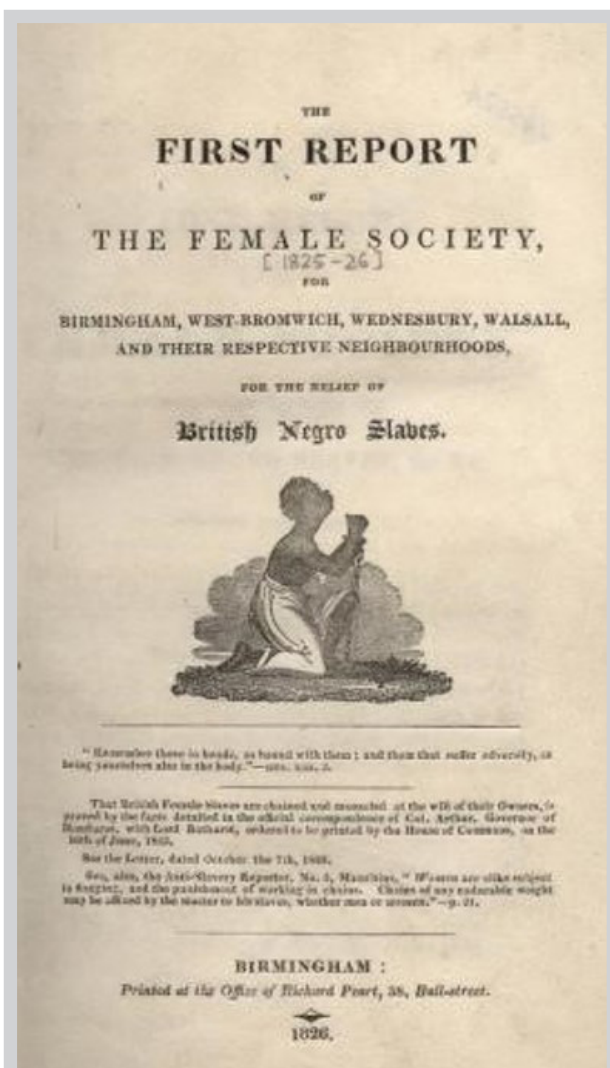
ANTEBELLUM AMERICAN ABOLITION EFFORTS

The American Anti-Slavery Society, formed in December 1833, had as its founding declaration for Black Americans, “the rights and privileges that belong to them as men and as Americans.” In 1838, Society membership was 300,000 in approximately 2,000 loosely affiliated chapters.⁶² To promote their objective, the society issued Low 54, bearing a female slave in chains surrounded by the words “AM I NOT A WOMAN & SISTER, dated 1838.” These tokens were actually first issued in 1837 (contrary to the 1838 date on the tokens), as evidenced by an advertisement published in the November 23, 1837 abolitionist newspaper, *The Emancipator*. The token contains a curious error in that the N in UNITED is a mirror image. Eric P. Newman postulates that re-cutting a new die would have cost precious time, and that distribution had to be done immediately, or it might have been prevented by the enforcement of coinage law.⁶³ There are also four known Hard Times tokens bearing the image of a male slave.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1838	Low 54, Rulau 81	Gibbs Gardner & Co., Belleville, NJ	-	Not rare
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	28.5 mm	Copper	10.5 g	XF
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
* AM I NOT A WOMAN & A SISTER * 1838		UNITED STATES OF AMERICA / LIBERTY / 1838		

Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog.



The earliest depiction of a kneeling slave woman appeared on the cover of "The First Report of the Female Society, for Birmingham, West-Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall, and Their Respective Neighbourhoods, for the Relief of British Negro Slaves," published in 1826. On April 8, 1825, when the Society first met, founding members included Sarah Wedgwood, daughter of Josiah Wedgwood, whose pottery firm was instrumental in the creation of the kneeling male slave seal. Perhaps Sarah utilized her connections to the Wedgwood firm to have the image redesigned.⁶⁴

The Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves drew particular attention to the plight of enslaved women, describing in their charter "a deep and lasting compassion, not only for the bodily sufferings of Female Slaves, but also for their moral degradation."⁶⁵ "The position of enslaved women was far worse because of the public and legal sanction given to their sexual abuse and exploitation by their white male owners."⁶⁶

The Yale Center for British Art reports that "In the United States, the image (of the female kneeling slave) was popularized by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler who used it in the Female Repository page of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The image was also used to head the ladies department of the William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*."⁶⁷ The June 1830 edition of the *Genius*, Ladies Repository described the receipt from our English friends of "the seal bearing the device of a female kneeling slave, and the very appropriate motto, 'Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?'" In the same issue, Chandler published her famous Kneeling Slave poem, articulating the plight of her "sister" depicted on the emblem.⁶⁸

On October 16, 1859, radical abolitionist

Fob seal, with motto "Am I not a woman and a sister?"
England, ca. 1825, gilt metal with amethyst-colored glass,
intaglio engraving.

Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund

<https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/4172417>

John Brown led 18 others in a raid of the Federal Amory at Harper’s Ferry, Virginia. He planned to use arms captured there in a slave revolt. The next day, the U.S. Marines, commanded by Robert E. Lee and J. E. B. Stuart, re-took the Armory, capturing Brown and six other survivors. Brown was tried and convicted of treason, murder and fomenting insurrection. He was hanged on December 2, of the same year. Ralph Waldo Emerson foretold that Brown would “make the gallows as glorious as the cross,” Henry David Thoreau proclaimed Brown a “Crucified Hero”, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote on the day of Brown’s execution, “the date of a new revolution,— quite as much needed as the old one.”⁶⁹ Medals issued in Silver, Copper, Brass, White Metal and Lead depicted Brown surrounded by the legend SLAVERY IS THE SUM OF ALL VILLANIES. These prominent northern voices and this medal enraged the South even more than Brown’s raid itself.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
1859	DeWitt SL-1859-1	Unknown	David Schenkman Collection	-
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
-	32 mm	Silver	Unknown	Choice Proof-like
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
SLAVERY THE SUM OF ALL VILLANIES / JOHN BROWN / MARCHING ALONG		RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD 1859 / GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH / JOHN BROWN		

Photo by David Schenkman. Also made of white metal, copper, brass, and lead.

The Yale University Art Gallery, which has a White Metal example of this medal in its collection, attributes George Hampden Lovett as the engraver.⁷⁰ Lovett specialists acknowledge the possibility of this being the work of George Hampden, but do not include it as such. The Lovett Token & Medal website excludes it because it lacks a signature or tie to a die known to have been engraved by Lovett, or a contemporary reference as to who the engraver was.⁷¹ The silver proof-like specimen illustrated survives in the collection of David Schenkman. He acquired it in the 1970s from a collector acquainted with a gentleman who was a retired employee of the

Scovill Manufacturing Company in Waterbury, Connecticut and who, in his retirement, served as the unofficial curator of their collection. The Lovett Token and Medal site reports that Lovett did engrave some medals for the Scovill Manufacturing Company.⁷²

An October 1862 northern newspaper reports:

The death of John Brown has furnished the army of the United States with its most popular songs, and now a medal is struck to commemorate his exploits and his tragical end. The following description of them is given:

"On one side is the likeness of John Brown surrounded by nineteen shining stars, which represent the nineteen free states. Under him are fifteen dim stars, which represent the slave states, with the well known John Brown sentiment, "Slavery is the sum of all villanies," and "John Brown marching on." On the other side is a representation of his execution, with the sentiment of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death," and also the sentiment of Thomas Jefferson, "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God," with the date of John Brown's execution."

The medals are to be had of J. Mills
239 Broadway.

*The Summit County
Beacon, Akron, Ohio,
2 Oct 1862, pg 3*

Research performed thus far has not uncovered information as to the identity of J. Mills. In all likelihood he was an agent for a die sinker and did not himself produce the medal.⁷³ Interestingly, the October 1862 article notes the 34 stars engraved on the obverse of the medal. The 34th State, Kansas, was admitted to the union on January 29, 1861. It is reasonable to conclude that the medal was engraved after that date and before the October 1862 publication of the article describing it. The article also describes "fifteen dim stars" representing the slave states. This would include Maryland and Delaware, slave States which remained in the Union, as well as the thirteen States which joined the Confederacy.

The moral message of "Am I Not A Sister and a Woman" tokens conflicted with the economic reality of slavery. By 1860 "4 million American slaves were worth some \$3.5 billion, making them the largest single financial asset in the entire U.S. economy, worth more than all manufacturing and railroads combined. ... What eventually tore asunder America's political culture was slavery's expansion into the Western territories."⁷⁴



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
1860	Fuld 511/517	Die by Benjamin True, made by John Stanton, Cincinnati	Heritage Auctions 2018 January 3-8 FUN US Coins Signature Auction lot 10259	R6
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	21 mm	Brass	-	XF40
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	
NO SUBMISSION TO THE NORTH			THE WEALTH OF THE SOUTH. RICE TOBACCO SUGAR COTTON	

Image from Heritage Auctions. Also made in white metal, copper, and tin plated.

Although the tokens bearing the expressions NO SUBMISSION TO THE NORTH and THE WEALTH OF THE SOUTH RICE TOBACCO SUGAR & COTTON were produced to be sold in Dixie, they were designed north of the Mason Dixon Line by Benjamin True and struck by John Stanton, both of Cincinnati. Stanton would produce numerous mulings, utilizing these dies with other unrelated dies to create rare varieties for the numismatic market.⁷⁵

The sentiment of the legend coincides with the editorial perspective of southern journals. De Bow's *Southern Review* opined that "The wealth of the South is permanent and real, that of the North fugitive and fictitious. Events now transpiring are exposing the fiction as humbug after humbug explodes; and if abolition succeeds, the fugitive and cosmopolitan character of Northern capital will be more fully exposed, for the little wealth that she has will then take wing and fly away."⁷⁶

DeBow also observed that northern cities were filled with "the gaming house, the drinking house, and places of still more abandoned character," while the factories of Lowell were filled with young, unmarried women "at a time of life that ought to be sacred to love and courtship, to pleasure and to hope, to home and to society."⁷⁷

Slaveholding interests used various tactics to stifle anti-slavery voices. The "gag rule" was a parliamentary procedure whereby abolitionist petitions introduced in the Senate were met with a motion to table, which was not debatable.⁷⁸ While this practice ceased after 1850, northern anti-slavery voices would remember it long after. Abolitionists' newspapers and tracts mailed to

southern states were seized by local postmasters.⁷⁹ These attacks on free speech were certainly on their minds when the newly formed Republican Party engraved the expression FREE SOIL & FREE SPEECH on medals issued on behalf of their 1856 presidential candidate John C. Fremont. Free Speech was a rally cry for the Republicans, free soil was the reason for which the party was formed. The principal of free soil was earlier espoused by the Free Soil Party in 1848. This commitment was that slavery would not be allowed to extend beyond its current domain, and that the territories would be reserved for free men.⁸⁰



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
1856	DeWitt JF 1856-9	Scovill Manufacturing Company, Waterbury, Connecticut	Steve Hayden	-
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	28 mm	Brass	9.8 g	XF40
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	
JOHN. C. FREMONT. FREE SOIL & FREE SPEECH			UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
<i>Author's collection. Also made in copper and gold plate.</i>				

The caning of Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner escalated the expression ‘free speech’ from a rally cry to a battle cry. On May 20, 1856 Sumner delivered his ‘Crime against Kansas’ speech; referring to South Carolina Senator Andrew Butler he said:

The Senator from South Carolina ... believes himself a chivalrous knight, with sentiments of honor and courage. Of course he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him; though polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight, I mean the harlot, Slavery. For her, his tongue is always profuse in words.⁸¹

Butler's cousin, Rep. Preston Brooks described his response:

I struck him (Sumner) with my cane and gave him about 30 first rate stripes with a gutta perch cane, which had been given me a few months before by a friend from N. Carolina named Vick. Every lick went where I intended. For about the first five

or six licks he offered to make fight, but I plied him so rapidly that he did not touch me. Towards the last he bellowed like a calf.⁸²

Sumner was unable to slide out of his chair and was pinned under his desk, which was hinged to the floor.⁸³ A May 24, 1856 Pittsburgh Gazette editorial protested: "Senators and Representatives cannot enjoy the right of *free speech* or free discussion without being liable to brutal assaults; and they must, of necessity, arm themselves with sword-canes or revolvers."⁸⁴ A medal, DeWitt SL 1859-2, was struck with an obverse inscription of MASSACHUSETTS/ FOR/ JUSTICE around an arm and sword; and FREEDOM OF SPEECH/ WE/ NEVER/ WILL/ SURRENDER on the reverse. Those who read the legend "Freedom of Speech" on this medal would have been reminded of Massachusetts Senator Sumner's caning.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
1859	DeWitt SL 1859-2	Unknown	ex. Michael Dlugosh	-
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	28 mm	White metal	7.4 g	AU
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
MASSACHUSETTS / FOR / JUSTICE		FREEDOM OF SPEECH / WE / NEVER / WILL / SURRENDER		

Author's collection. Also made in silver and copper.

The expression 'Free Speech' would continue to be used by the Republican Party during Abraham Lincoln's 1860 election campaign. Before Lincoln secured the Republican nomination for that campaign, he positioned himself not as a radical Republican demanding immediate abolition of slavery, but rather as a moderate Republican, insisting only that slavery not be extended.

Lincoln outlined his slavery position in his 1860 Cooper Union address, when he opposed the expansion of slavery to the Western territories, but then stated, "Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation."⁸⁵ The reverse legend of Dewitt AL 1860-37, "LET LIBERTY BE NATIONAL & SLAVERY SECTIONAL," succinctly articulates this position.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1860	DeWitt AL 1860-37	John D. Lovett, New York	ex. Classic Numismatics	Scarce
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	31 mm	Copper	16.5 g	AU
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
ABRAM LINCOLN REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT / J.D.L. (engraver) / 1860		FREE TERRITORY FOR A FREE PEOPLE / LET / LIBERTY / BE / NATIONAL / & / SLAVERY SECTIONAL		
Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog. Also made in silver, white metal, and brass.				

Several aspects of this medal draw attention. A person examining it today who is not familiar with Lincoln history might first notice that the Lincoln portrait is beardless. Lincoln did not grow his beard until after late 1860,⁸⁶ perhaps in response to a October 15, 1860 letter from eleven-year-old Grace Bedell promising to get her brothers to vote for Lincoln if he let his beard grow and suggesting “all the ladies like whiskers and they would tease their husband’s to vote for you and then you would be president.”⁸⁷ The mis-spelling of Lincoln’s given name as Abram occurred frequently in eastern newspapers during 1860, as well as on some other campaign medals, but never after that.⁸⁸

While these aspects of the medal are interesting, what is most important is the previously mentioned summary of the Cooper Union address, “Let Liberty Be National & Slavery Sectional.” Why did the South feel the need to secede when Lincoln was willing to ‘let slavery be’ in their states? The expression is a paraphrase of Charles Sumner’s August 26, 1852 Senate speech titled “Liberty National; Slavery Sectional,” given in support of a motion to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Sumner argued that “Congress can give no sanction to Slavery in the admission of new Slave States. Nowhere under the Constitution, can the nation, by legislation or otherwise, support Slavery, hunt slaves or hold property in man.”⁸⁹

In the years leading up to the war, southern leaders “effectively reversed” the expression on this medal. They were fortified by the 1857 Dred Scott Supreme Court ruling that slaves were

property protected by the Constitution. Prior to vacating his seat, Mississippi Senator Jefferson Davis offered a resolution "That neither congress nor a Territorial Legislature ... possess the power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common Territories; but it is the duty of the Federal Government there to afford that, as for other species of property, needful protection."⁹⁰ The South's position, simply put, was that slavery was national and freedom merely local.⁹¹

The legend which circles 1860-70 summarizes the political and economic positions of the Republican Party during the election of 1860. The forward facing bust of Lincoln is based on a February 27, 1860 portrait taken in Mathew Brady's New York Studio hours before Lincoln delivered his Cooper Union address.⁹²



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
1860	DeWitt AL 1860-70 Reeded edge	Unknown	ex. C&D Gale	Scarce
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
90°	22 mm	Brass	5.6 g	XF, start of hole for suspension
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
ABRAM LINCOLN FREE LAND, FREE SPEECH & FREE MEN		UNION OF THE STATES		

Author's collection. Also made in silver, white metal, and copper. Reeded edge.

The expression, FREE LAND, was a longstanding movement brought to reality by the May 20, 1862 Homestead Act granting 160 acres of land to settlers, provided they improved the land for a small registration fee.⁹³ Some one cent coins were counterstamped with similar words: VOTE THE LAND FREE. For many years these counterstamped cents were assumed to have been issued by the Free Soil Party, which opposed the expansion of slavery into the Western Territories, and supported Martin Van Buren as a third party candidate in 1848. However author and researcher David Bowers noticed that all underlying coins stamped with the words VOTE THE LAND FREE, were dated 1844 or earlier. If they had been made for the 1848 election, many would have been dated from 1845 to 1848. Bowers identified a group of labor advocates, headed by a George Henry Evans, which on March 13, 1844, (the latest year of the underlying coins on

which these words were stamped), held a meeting in New York City. One of their objectives was Homestead legislation, which would allow workers to acquire public lands free of charge. Based on the dates of the coins on which the slogan was placed, they were likely stamped in 1844 by Evans and his labor advocates, and not by the Free Soil Party during the Presidential election campaign of 1848.⁹⁴

Legislation for the 'gratuitous distribution' of public lands had been proposed, unsuccessfully, as far back as 1820. Initially there was opposition by manufacturing interests in the North, not wanting to encourage emigration of their labor force.⁹⁵ Similar legislation was introduced in virtually every session thereafter. However, over the years the political factions reversed. "By the 1850's the strongest opponent of all, the slaveholder, saw that free homesteads meant rapid settlement of the lands by people of the North and the passing of the territories from his hands forever."⁹⁶ In 1860, the Free Soil, and the Free Land coalitions coalesced within the Republican Party.

The term 'Free Men' is a nuanced expression. It did not necessarily call for granting freedom to those who were not already free. It was an appeal to the "farmers, small entrepreneurs and craftsman of northern society" who considered themselves to be in economic competition with slave labor.⁹⁷

THE UNITED STATES CIVIL WAR

Following Lincoln's election, on December 20, 1860 South Carolina seceded from the Union. Their *Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union* objected to the Republican party's advocacy of "Sectionalism" as engraved on Lincoln election medals: "... On the 4th day of March next, this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory, that the judicial tribunals shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States..."⁹⁸

Ten other states would follow South Carolina into the Confederacy.⁹⁹ Slavery was the dominant theme of those that issued secession declarations. Georgia's complaint stated, "Because by their declared principles and policy they have outlawed \$3,000,000,000 of our property in the common territories of the Union." Mississippi: "...Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery-- the greatest material interest of the world..."¹⁰⁰

On the International front, Great Britain had the potential to tip the balance of power. Despite Great Britain's financial interest in the Confederacy's cotton industry, the British Parliament issued a proclamation of neutrality in May of 1861.¹⁰¹ This represented a victory for the British abolitionist "Voice to America," a voice earlier expressed by the tokens and medals of Wedgwood, and Davis.

As states declared their intention to secede, considerable effort was expended to retain the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware. Each of these contained slaves and slave holders, and also those who desired to remain in the Union. Lincoln, humorous and pragmatic as always, is reputed to have stated "I hope to have God on my side, but I must have Kentucky."¹⁰²

A shortage of circulating coins resulted when specie payments were suspended on currency issued to finance the war.¹⁰³ Gold and silver coins were then worth more than currency, and so rarely circulated. Since there were not enough copper and nickel coins to make up for the hoarded precious metal, base metal tokens were produced by private makers in quantity to fill the void.¹⁰⁴ Some contained legends declaring that the purpose of the war was to protect the Union, a message directed to the teetering Kentucky. The legend THE FEDERAL UNION IT MUST BE PRESERVED would have been known to all as a quote from slave holding President Andrew Jackson, who directed it to John C. Calhoun as the threat of an earlier secession loomed. During the Nullification Crisis, Jackson sought to protect the Union when tariffs threatened to split it apart. Tariffs remained a source of disagreement, but were nowhere mentioned by any state as a reason for secession. What now lit the fires of secession was slavery.¹⁰⁵



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
1863	Fuld 178/266	Dies by Horter	Dan Moore	R3
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Coin	19 mm	Copper	2.3 g	XF
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	
THE FEDERAL UNION IT MUST BE PRESERVED			OUR / UNION	
Author's collection. Also made of silver, copper nickel, brass, and other metals.				



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1863	Fuld-36/340a	George J. Glaubrecht, New York	ex. Ernie Latter, removed from an NGC holder graded MS64 Brown	R1 per Fuld
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Coin	19.2 mm	Copper	2.7 g	Brown UNC (typical weak shield)
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	
LIBERTY AND NO SLAVERY 1863			(Union Shield)	
Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog. Also made of silver and brass.				

Here it is important to distinguish between the cause of the war, slavery, and the initial purpose, preservation of the Union. As casualties mounted, so did pressure from abolitionist faction to re-define that purpose. Some Civil War Tokens would bear the legend “LIBERTY AND NO SLAVERY,” including Fuld 36/340A.

Abraham Lincoln’s personal thoughts as his slavery position evolved during the war, his mental pivot, was captured in an undated private note he wrote, likely during the summer of 1862. It was not found among his personal papers until after his death, and is now called Lincoln’s Meditation on the Divine Will. It has the logic of a mathematical proof. Lincoln wrote:

In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war, it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party.¹⁰⁶

On September 22, 1862 Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, declaring that as of January 1, 1863 "all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

Campaign medals for the 1864 election document that the cause of the war, slavery, had now resulted in a new and complimentary purpose, the abolition of slavery. This is nowhere more clearly stated than on DeWitt 1864-3 which proclaims, IF I AM RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT SLAVERY MUST BE ABOLISHED WITH THE REUNION OF STATES. Unlike legends struck on medals issued for Lincoln’s 1860 campaign, there is no nuance or ambiguity in the words engraved here.



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Pedigree	Rarity
1864	DeWitt AL 1864-3	Frederic B. Smith, New York	ex. Henry South, ex. Steve Hayden July 9, 2012 auction	Rare
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
Medal	34 mm	Copper	17.2 g	Brown UNC
Obverse Inscription		Reverse Inscription		
ABRAHAM LINCOLN / F.B. SMITH (engraver). N.Y.		IF I AM / RE-ELECTED / PRESIDENT / SLAVERY MUST / BE / ABOLISHED / WITH THE / REUNION / OF / STATES		

Author's collection, photo by Ed Twarog. Also made in silver and white metal.

Most importantly, Lincoln re-assessed his calculation that enlistment of freed slaves and black soldiers would alienate the Border States. On May 22, 1863 he issued General order #143,¹⁰⁷ resulting in the enlistment of 180 thousand “Colored Troops” over the last two years of the war. This participation was despite the known threat that if they were captured in uniform they would be “re-enslaved, ... and though the Confederate government did not officially sanction mass executions, it did almost nothing to punish southern troops who massacred black prisoners. ... By the last year of the war, there was as many as 100,000 blacks in uniform at any one time, accounting for nearly 20% of the military’s fighting force.”¹⁰⁸

In a September 12, 1864 letter Abraham Lincoln articulated the importance of enlisting these troops on behalf of the Union:

Any different policy in regard to the colored man, deprives us of his help, and this is more than we can bear. We can not spare the hundred and forty or fifty thousand now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers. This is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force which may be measured and estimated as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. Keep it and you can save the Union. Throw it away, and the Union goes with it. Nor is it possible for any Administration to retain the service of these people with the express or implied understanding that upon the first convenient occasion, they are to be re-enslaved. It can not be; and it ought not to be.¹⁰⁹

The Colored Troops were organized in some 155 infantry, cavalry, and artillery units.¹¹⁰ Numismatic artifacts for three of these Colored Troops units, the 27th USCI, 48th USCI, and 119 USCI, survive in the form of Sutler Tokens. Sutlers were merchants who travelled with military units and sold provisions and wares to soldiers from a wagon or tent. During the Civil War, they were appointed by Federal Army regulations; however they were civilians who operated for profit.¹¹¹ Sutler Tokens were issued by some 171 different sutlers in various denominations and compositions.¹¹² These tokens were useful in extending credit to soldiers between paydays. Rather than recording the amount of credit for individual purchases, the sutler advanced a soldier an allotment of tokens in exchange for their signature on a “paymaster’s order.” These tokens were then used to purchase goods at the sutler’s store.¹¹³

Pictured at the top of the next page is a Sutler Token issued for the 27th Regiment Infantry, U.S. Colored Troops.

The 27th Colored Infantry fought for the Union, and for their freedom. On July 30, 1864 they were one of the nine regiments of Colored Troops who were involved in the hardest fighting during the Battle of the Crater, where they suffered 1,327 casualties, including 436 deaths.¹¹⁴

There are some pieces which are more fit for a national museum than a private collection. One is the Civil War Identification disc (dog tag) of Sergeant Qualls Tibbs of the 27th Colored Infantry, now curated in the collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture.¹¹⁵ Civil War dog tags were procured by individual soldiers from sutlers as they contemplated their mortality and the possibility of burial in a mass grave without notice to their parents, wives, or children. The variety pictured below has a blank obverse and reverse, described as an extremely rare double blank.¹¹⁶ The letters 27 USCT and QUALLS TIBBS have been hand punched, probably by the sutler of the 27 USCI, Gilbert S. Blackman.¹¹⁷



Year	Catalog #	Maker	Source	Rarity
Unknown	Schenkman Non-Local Z5B, Curto 323	Murdock & Spencer, Cincinnati, OH	Stacks Bowers February, 2015 Americana Aution, lot 398	R8
Orientation	Diameter	Made of	Weight	Condition
-	19 mm	Brass	-	EF-45
Obverse Inscription			Reverse Inscription	
27' U.S.C.I. / GOOD FOR / 5 / CTS IN GOODS			MURDOCK & SPENCER / 139 5'ST / CIN' O.	
Image from Stack's Bowers.				



*Identification tag for Civil War soldier Qualls Tibbs, 27th Infantry Regiment, United States Colored Troops, Brass, 29mm.
Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Object Number 2011.4.6.*

"Qualls Tibbs was born March 3, 1836 in Orange County, Virginia to Freed Slave Matilda Tibbs. She relocated her family to Ohio in 1848. "Qualls was 27 years old when he enlisted in Company E, 27th Regiment, US Colored Infantry."¹¹⁸ He was one of the fortunate who survived the Battle of the Crater. On February 10, 1865 at the Battle of Wilmington (North Carolina) he took a bullet to his right shoulder.¹¹⁹

"On the day that Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on May 9th, 1865, there were more African American soldiers fighting for the Union than the total of all Confederate forces. More than 40,000 African American soldiers paid the ultimate price for their country, and for their journey towards self-emancipation."¹²⁰ These men had answered the call of former slave Frederick Douglass, who recruited black soldiers by calling, "Who would be free

themselves must strike the first blow ...I urge you to fly to arms and smite to death the power that would bury the Government and your liberty in the same hopeless grave."¹²¹ The tenor of Douglass stands in contrast to that of the kneeling supplicant slave.

The abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of slavery began while Olaudah Equiano demonstrated to British Abolitionists that he was a man and a brother. The first artistically rendered medals deployed in support of this effort were part of a broad campaign of moral suasion. The last utilitarian tokens were ancillary to the appeal to the heavens which was the Civil War. This appeal was answered when men like Qualls Tibbs bore arms. The chains of slavery were finally severed after 600,000 gave their "last full measure of devotion."¹²²

On December 18, 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, declaring that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States."

***Ambrotype of Qualls Tibbs, 5th Sergeant, 27th U.S.C.T.,
Camp Delaware, Ohio***

*Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African
American History and Culture, Object Number 2011.4.2AB.*

Subject: Tibbs, Qualls, American, 1836-1922

Medium: Silver nitrate on glass photographic plate

Dimensions: Image 3 ¼ x 2 ¾ in.

1864-1865

Ambrotype of a soldier depicted seated on a wooden chair with one end of a P1853 Enfield musket held by his right hand near his right hip. The musket extends diagonally across his torso, its barrel held near his shoulder in the long fingers of his left hand; his left elbow rests on the top of the chair. He wears a dark-colored cap, dark-colored frock coat over a lapelled shirt, and light-colored trousers. His belt is closed with a metal plate buckle and a cartridge box belt crosses his chest. Metal on the uniform appears to have been touched up with gold paint, which has the unfortunate result of masking emblems on the kepi, belts, and buttons. The ambrotype is in a decorative gold case.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Friends who assisted during this project include Ed Twarog who photographed many of the medals illustrated, Larry Sekulich, who sent me British medalist biographic information. Mike Dlugosh pointed me to research on the makers of Conder Tokens. Dave Schenkman provided significant editing assistance and encouragement. I note that some additions were made after Dave completed his edits, so any syntax errors which remain are surely my own.

NUMISMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown, Laurence A., *A Catalogue of Historical Medals 1837-1901: The Reign of Queen Victoria*, (London, Seaby, 1987) 516 pages.

Brown, Laurence A., *A Catalogue of Historical Medals 1760-1960: Vol. I The Accession of George III to the Death of William IV*, (London, Seaby, 1980) 469 pages.

Cunningham, Paul A, *Lincoln's Metallic Imagery: A Catalog and Price List of Lincoln Coins, Tokens, Medals and Plaques* (Tecumseh, MI, Michigan Exonumia Publishers, 2015) 405 pages.

Dlugosh, Michael, *The Ultimate Guide to Conder Tokens: The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century*, (Rockway, NJ, Digital Numismatic Publishing) 710 pages.

Eimer, Christopher, *British Commemorative Medals and Their Values*, (London, Spink & Son Ltd., 2010) 326 pages.

Lyle, Bob, *The Tokens, Checks, Metallic Tickets, Passes and Tallies of the British Caribbean & Bermuda*, (Lake Mary, FL, The Token and Medal Society, 1988) 207 pages.

Schenkman, David E., *Civil War Sutler Tokens and Cardboard Scrip*, (Hampton VA, Multi-Print Inc., 1983) 103 pages.

Spence, Thomas, *The Coin Collectors Companion. Being a Descriptive Alphabetical List of the Modern Provincial, Political, and Other Copper Coins* (London, Printed for Thomas Spence, 1795) 52 pages.

Sullivan, Edmund B. *American Political Badges and Medalets 1789-1892*, (Lawrence MA, Quarterman Publications, Inc., 1981) 646 pages.

Trask, Susan, *Patriotic Civil War Tokens 1861-1865 Based on the Work of George and Melvin Fuld Sixth Edition*, (Civil War Token Society, 2018) 327 pages.

Weiss, Benjamin, *Medallic History of Slavery: Racial Oppression as Chronicled by Historical and Commemorative Medals* (an eBook available at the Newman Numismatic Portal, 2020) 265 pages.

CITATIONS

- ¹ Ronald Segal, *The Black Diaspora: Five Centuries of the Black Experience Outside Africa* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), ISBN 0-374-11396-3, p. 4.
- ² The British Museum, accessed 6/16/2020.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Af1952-20-34
- ³ Smith, Robert Kingdoms of the Yoruba (London, James Currey Ltd, 1988), 61. (Also Rees, Coin News.)
https://www.google.com/books/edition/Kingdoms_of_the_Yoruba/ric6OhxbCS0C?hl
- ⁴ Rees, Alun, Manillas, Coin News, vol 37 No. 4, Derbyshire UK, April 2000, pgs. 46-47.
https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Manilla_%28money%29#cite_ref-Rees46_8-0
- ⁵ Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan: Or the Matter, Form & Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (London, C. J. Clay & Sons 1904), 84.
<https://www.google.com/books/edition/Leviathan/2oc6AAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1>
Note that the edition linked is a translation of the original 1651 Latin edition which substitutes "Poore" for the more frequently translated "Cruel."
- ⁶ Klein, Herbert S., Haines Robin and Shlomowitz, *Transoceanic Mortality: The Slave Trade in Comparative Perspective*, William & Mary Quarterly, LVIII, no. 1 (January 2001), pp. 93-118. Citing Wilberforce speech opening the parliamentary debate on slave trade.
https://web.stanford.edu/~hklein/Klein_et al Mortality ST WMQ-2001.pdf, pg 3-4.
- ⁷ Library of Congress > Prints & Photographs Reading Room, accessed 6/17/2020.
<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2008661312/>
- ⁸ Hochschild, Adam, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves*, (Boston and New York, Mariner Books, 2006), 91.
- ⁹ Ibid Hochschild, Adam, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves*, (Boston and New York, Mariner Books, 2006), 95-96.
- ¹⁰ Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 122-125.

- ¹¹ The Wedgwood Museum chapter on Slavery.
http://www.wedgwoodmuseum.org.uk/learning/discovery_packs/pack/lives-of-the-wedgwoods/chapter/slavery
- ¹² Peckard, Peter, *Am I Not a Man? And a Brother?*, Cambridge 1788.
<https://library.princeton.edu/republic/am-i-not-a-man-and-a-brother-cambridge-1788/>
- ¹³ Hochschild, Adam, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves*, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 2005), pgs 128-129.
- ¹⁴ Weiss, Benjamin, *Medallic History of Slavery: Racial Oppression as Chronicled by Historical and Commemorative Medals* (an eBook available at the Newman Numismatic Portal, 2020), pg 45; also Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History Collections, Antislavery Medallion.
https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_596365
- ¹⁵ Dlugosh, Michael, *The Ultimate Guide to Conder Tokens: The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century*, (Rockway, NJ, Digital Numismatic Publishing) 123.
- ¹⁶ Carretta, Vincent, *Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man*, (New York, Penguin Books, 2006), 237-238.
- ¹⁷ Carretta, *ibid*, 210-211.
- ¹⁸ Carretta, *ibid*, 271.
- ¹⁹ Peckard Letter of Support, pg x, Clarkson Subscription listed on pg. xix, Wilberforce Subscription listed on pg. xxii.
https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Interesting_Narrative_of_the_Life_of/4GM6AAAACAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&bsq=wilber
- ²⁰ Equiano, Olaudah, *The life and adventures of Olaudah Equiano; or Gustavus Vassa, the African. : From an account written by himself. Abridged by A. Mott. ; To which are added Some remarks on the slave trade, &c.* (New York : Published by Samuel Wood & Sons, no. 261 Pearl-street. R. & G.S. Wood, printers, 1829).
<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/101686767>
- ²¹ Dlugosh, Michael, *The Ultimate Guide to Conder Tokens: The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century* (Rockway, NJ, NumiSource Digital Numismatic Publishing, 2010) 166, 277, 283, 284-286, 288.
- ²² Spence, Thomas, "The Coin Collectors Companion" (London, 1795), 35.
https://books.google.com/books?id=ubxVAAAACAAJ&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=coin%20collectors%20companion%20spence&source=bl&ots=MwC6XDP8B2&sig=ACfU3U2mAkSTirYnHU48jjdiq_--NZELqQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiRtaCGxaTpAhVJoXIEHVGjB_sQ6AEwDH0ECAUQAQ&fbclid=IwAR1QHQ8wBGcCbGHFoXg7uuZqAeqVwU50qma4ujbWIYci6CgwuWdUQAYrre8#v=onepage&q=coin%20collectors%20companion%20spence&f=false

- ²³ Forrer, Leonard, Biographical Dictionary of Medallists, vol. 3, (London, Spink, 1907) 55, 56 and 503.
<https://archive.org/details/ForrerVol3/page/n69/mode/2up/search/james>
- ²⁴ Forrer, Leonard, Biographical Dictionary of Medallists, vol. 5, (London, Spink, 1912) 582.
- ²⁵ Place, Francis. <https://spartacus-educational.com/PRspence.htm>
- ²⁶ More, Thomas Utopia pg 109.
<https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/thomas-jeffersons-library/interactives/sir-thomas-mores-utopia/>
- ²⁷ Avineri, Shlomo, WAR AND SLAVERY IN MORE'S UTOPIA, 261, 269. Downloaded May 8/2020.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/S0020859000002091>
- ²⁸ Paine, Thomas, African Slavery (Pennsylvania Magazine, 1774), 51.
<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/393524/pdf>
- ²⁹ The Mid-Victorian Royal Navy Website.
https://www.pdavis.nl/Legis_06.htm
- ³⁰ National Museums Liverpool website. The Archeology of Slavery: Slavery in the Caribbean Article, referenced 4/29/2020.
<https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/slavery-caribbean>
- ³¹ Slave Trade Abolition Bill, Parliamentary Debates, February 23, 1807, 961.
https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Parliamentary_Debates_from_the_Year/ZOHU3cTqowkC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=the+parliamentary+debates+from+the+year+1803+to+the+present+time&printsec=frontcover accessed 6/17/2020
- ³² Early History of Sierra Leone," modified 8/2014, accessed 4/2020.
<http://www.come2sierraleone.com/early-history-of-sierra-leone/>
- ³³ "Founding of Sierra Leone," modified 2017.
<https://blackpast.org/gah/founding-sierra-leone>
- ³⁴ Urban, Sylvanus, The Gentleman's Magazine (London, Nichols and Son at Cicerp's Head, 1809), 348.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hw290n&view=1up&seq=309>
- ³⁵ Willentz, Sean, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*, (New York and London: WW Norton & Co., 2005), 218.
- ³⁶ Howe, Daniel Walker, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 260-262.
- ³⁷ Culver, Charles GG, and Harley, Dan, "The Liberia One Cent of 1833," Quarterly Magazine of the California State Numismatic Association, Q3 1970, 4-7.

- ³⁸ Howe, Daniel Walker, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 262.
- ³⁹ Great Britain Colonial Office, *Papers in Explanation of The Measures Adopted By His Majesty's Government For Giving Effect for The Abolition of Slavery*, (London: House of Commons, 1835), 39.
- ⁴⁰ Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 247-348.
- ⁴¹ Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Josiah-Wedgwood>
- ⁴² Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Olaudah-Equiano>
- ⁴³ Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Wilberforce>
- ⁴⁴ Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 118.
- ⁴⁵ Fairburn, John, *An Accurate Account of that Horrible and Inhuman Traffic, the Slave Trade : Shewing the Treatment Which the Slaves Experience, the Mode of Procuring Them &c. : with a Description of the Iron Instruments Used*, (London : Printed and published by John Fairburn, Junior, 4 Fountain-Court, Minories, [not before 1800]).
<https://collections.countway.harvard.edu/onview/exhibits/show/this-abominable-traffic/instruments-of-slavery>
- ⁴⁶ Finley, Cheryl, *A Wretched Situation Made Plain on Paper*, (Lapham's Quarterly, July 25, 2018).
<https://www.laphamsquarterly.org/roundtable/wretched-situation-made-plain-paper>
- ⁴⁷ Hochschild, Adam, *Bury the Chains*, 155.
- ⁴⁸ Coffey, John The abolition of the Slave Trade: Christian Conscience and Political Action, (Cambridge Papers, Volume 15, Number 2, June 2006).
<https://www.jubilee-centre.org/cambridge-papers/the-abolition-of-the-slave-trade-christian-conscience-and-political-action-by-john-coffey>
- ⁴⁹ Coffey, John The abolition of the Slave Trade: Christian Conscience and Political Action, (Cambridge Papers, Volume 15, Number 2, June 2006).
<https://www.jubilee-centre.org/cambridge-papers/the-abolition-of-the-slave-trade-christian-conscience-and-political-action-by-john-coffey>
- ⁵⁰ Equiano, Olaudah, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano: Written by Himself* (Boston, Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995), 119-120.
- ⁵¹ Genesis 9:25 King James Version.

- ⁵² Ephesians 6:5 King James Version.
- ⁵³ Reddie, Richard, *The Church: Enslaver or Liberator?* accessed 6-15-2020. Last updated 2011-02-17.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/church_and_slavery_article_01.shtml
- ⁵⁴ Wisbech and Fenland Museum, Thomas Clarkson Archive.
<https://www.wisbechmuseum.org.uk/clarkson/index.php>
- ⁵⁵ Eimer, Christopher, *British Commemorative Medals and their Values*, (London, Spink, 2010) 304.
- ⁵⁶ Forrer, Leonard, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, vol 1 [A-D], (London, Spink, 1904), 536.
<https://archive.org/details/ForrerVol1/mode/2up/search/davis>
- ⁵⁷ *Proceedings at the first public meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and for the Civilization of Africa : held at Exeter Hall, on Monday, 1st June, 1840. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, president of the society, in the chair* (London, W. Clowes and Sons, 1840) 6.
<https://archive.org/details/proceedingsatfir00soci/page/n5/mode/2up/search/albert>
- ⁵⁸ *AVictorian.com /Early Years of Wedded/ Noble prince Albert*.
http://www.avictorian.com/victoria_married_life.html
- ⁵⁹ *General Anti-Slavery Convention, Proceedings of the General Anti-slavery Convention : called by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and held in London, from Friday, June 12th, to Tuesday, June 23rd, 1840. (London : British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, 1841).*
<https://catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/search~S4?/aGeneral+Anti-slavery+Convention+%281st+%3A+1840+%3A+London%2C+England%29/ageneral+anti+slavery+convention++++++1st++++1840+london+england/-3%2C-1%2C0%2CB/frameset&FF=ageneral+anti+slavery+convention++++++1st++++1840+london+england&2%2C%2C3>
- ⁶⁰ Mayer, Henry, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York, St. Martin's Griffin, 1998) 288-291.
- ⁶¹ Tilton, Theodore, *Eminent Women of the Age: Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, (Hartford Connecticut, S. M. Betts & Co. , 1868) 346-347.
- ⁶² Willentz, Sean, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*, (New York and London: WW Norton & Co., 2005), 392, 403-404.
- ⁶³ Newman, Eric P., *The Promotion and Suppression of Hard Times Tokens*, (New York, The American Numismatic Society - Coinage of the Americas Conference, October 29, 1994), 114-117.

- ⁶⁴ Simkin, John Birmingham Ladies Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, (Spartacus Educational Forum, January, 2020).
https://spartacus-educational.com/Female_Society.htm
Note that the web article implies that the Sarah Wedgwood who was a member of the Female Society for Birmingham was Josiah Wedgwood's, wife. She was his daughter.
- ⁶⁵ The First Report of the Female Society, for Birmingham, West-Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall, and Their Respective Neighbourhoods, for the Relief of British Negro Slaves (Birmingham, 1826), p. 3.
- ⁶⁶ Midgley, Clare, Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Gender & History, Vol 5 No 3 Autumn 1993) 346-362.
<https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/students/modules/hi253/lectures/antislavery/j.1468-0424.1993.tb00184.x.pdf>
 Citing Report of Remond's lecture in the Music Hall, Store Street, London, 1 June 1859, Anti-Slavery Reporter, 3rd Series, vol. 7, no. 7 (July 1859), p. 150.
- ⁶⁷ The Yale University British Art Website: "Am I not a woman and a sister?"
<https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/4172417>
- ⁶⁸ The Genius of Universal Emancipation, No. 3. Vol 1, Edited and Published by William Lundy, June 1830. Pages 41 and 44.
<https://archive.org/details/geniusuniversal01garrgoog/page/n12/mode/2up>
- ⁶⁹ McPherson, James M., The Illustrated Battle Cry of Freedom, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003), 161-164.
- ⁷⁰ Yale University Art Gallery , 2020, downloaded 5/9/2020.
<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/161260>
- ⁷¹ Baldwin, David, per email correspondence. David is the creator of the Lovett Tokens & Medals website: <http://lovetttokensmedals.blogspot.com/>
- ⁷² Baldwin, David. <http://lovetttokensmedals.blogspot.com/p/george-hampden-lovett.html>
- ⁷³ Per David schenkman.
- ⁷⁴ Coates, Ta-Nehisi, Slavery Made America: The Case For Reparations: a narrative biography, (The Atlantis, June 24, 2014 quoting David Blight,
<https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/06/slavery-made-america/373288/>)
 See also Ransom, Roger, Causes, Costs and Consequences: The Economics of the American Civil War,
<https://www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/the-economics-of-the-civil-war.html>
 and McPherson, James M., The Illustrated Battle Cry of Freedom, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003), 74-82.
- ⁷⁵ Jaeger, Katherine and Bowers, Q. David, 100 Greatest American Medals and Tokens, (Atlanta, Whitman Publishing, 2007), 75.

- ⁷⁶ De Bow's Southern Review, December 1857, Wealth of the North and the South: Individual and National Wealth- the Slave trade and Union pg. 592.
https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5QafAq-eBwtjXlkFM_TO5WiGL8VS2VkLDQqzla5lBPRHIkTDnpj6GqVyfj-TGb_Af7jibwNfoaJEi22sSA47VA9c2rKv0aaQ22avReNkl2aQWucg4PTE5Ep1pEBk0w8yB08Znji5oizuS7MMtanMriWV9Y82oRhCFfrg7WykeJm_p6u4lVcDwS5P5nP6sxDTM0rrFRtKnV0mfe_ZLdGZSDGIhFf1Kf4Wrm2Cw0rkKOnEHBpJxymR1-aP0E0qbV7Gf5kgHL8yHV
- ⁷⁷ Ibid, September 1857, Elwood Fisher on the North and the South pgs. 278-280.
- ⁷⁸ Howe, Daniel Walker, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 513.
- ⁷⁹ Willentz, Sean, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*, (New York and London: WW Norton & Co., 2005), 410.
- ⁸⁰ Foner, Eric, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1970) 127-131.
- ⁸¹ Sumner, Charles, The Crime Against Kansas (Digital History Website accessed 6/14/2020).
<http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disptextbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=3915>
- ⁸² Brooks, Preston, caning Charles Sumner, Part 8 (Freedmens portal, accessed 6/14/2018).
<https://freedmenspatrol.wordpress.com/2017/08/10/every-lick-went-where-i-intended-caning-charles-sumner-part-8/>
- ⁸³ Sinha, Manisha, *The Caning of Charles Sumner: Slavery, Race and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War*, (University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2003).
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1026&context=afroam_faculty_pubs accessed 6/14/2020
- ⁸⁴ Rodriguez, Junius P, *Slavery in the United States: A Social, Political and Historical Encyclopedia*, (Santa Barbara CA, ABC Clio, 2007), 660. Accessed 6/14/2020.
https://books.google.com/books/about/Slavery_in_the_United_States.html?id=4X44KbDBI9gC
- ⁸⁵ Holzer, Harold, *Lincoln at Cooper Union, The Speech That Made Abraham Lincoln President*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 283.
- ⁸⁶ Donald, David Herbert, *Lincoln*, (London, Random House, 1995).
- ⁸⁷ <https://www.knowol.com/information/american-history/abraham-lincoln-beard-11-year-old/>
- ⁸⁸ Regarding Abram vs Abraham: See June 4, 1860 letter from Lincoln to George Ashmun "It seems as if the question whether my first name is "Abraham" or Abram" will never be settled. It is Abraham." *The Papers and Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, Volume 2, page 24.

- ⁸⁹ Oakes, James, *Freedom National : The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861-1865*, 2013: New York and London, W. W. Norton & Co., pg. 32-33.
- ⁹⁰ Davis, Jefferson, *The Papers of Jefferson Davis: 1850-1860*, (Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 274.
<https://books.google.com/books?id=BUueAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA274&lpg=PA274&dq=%22jefferson+Davis%22+%22As+for+other+species+of+property%22&source=bl&ots=H282u9-UCI&sig=ACfU3U1QldkwNsPCL0QhDBGBiJnjfEzSOg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjP4tCk2LvpAhVLGs0KHdjTBtYQ6AEwAHoECAUQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22positive%20duty%22&f=false>
- ⁹¹ Oakes, *Ibid* 44.
- ⁹² Holzer, Harold, *Lincoln at Cooper Union, The Speech That Made Abraham Lincoln President*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 88-100.
- ⁹³ Compston, Christine and Seidman Rachel Filene, *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003) 83.
- ⁹⁴ Bowers, David, *The E-Sylum: Volume 4, Number 16, April 15, 2001, Article 7*.
https://www.coinbooks.org/esylum_v04n16a07.html
- ⁹⁵ Sanborn, John Bell, *Some Political Aspects of Homestead Legislation*, (*The American Historical Review*, Vol 6, No 1 Oct. 1900 pg 21.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1834687.pdf> accessed 6/16/2020
- ⁹⁶ Sanborn, John Bell, *Some Political Aspects of Homestead Legislation*, *ibid* 36.
- ⁹⁷ Foner, Eric, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1970) 316.
- ⁹⁸ American Battlefield Trust, *Civil War Primary Source, The Declaration of Causes of Seceding States*.
<https://www.battlefields.org/learn/primary-sources/declaration-causes-seceding-states>
- ⁹⁹ The eleven states of the Confederacy cited do not include Missouri and Kentucky.
- ¹⁰⁰ American Battlefield Trust *ibid*.
- ¹⁰¹ Foreman, Amanda, *A World On Fire: Britain's Crucial Role in the American Civil War*, (New York, Random House, 2010), 2.
- ¹⁰² Foner, Eric, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*, (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 2010) 169.
- ¹⁰³ Bierly, William, *In God We Trust: The American Civil War, Money, Banking and Religion*, (Pelham AL, Whitman Publishing Co. 2019) 113.

- ¹⁰⁴ Bierly, *ibid* 130.
- ¹⁰⁵ Calton, Chris, *Did Tariffs Really Cause the American Civil War?* 11/25/17, accessed 6/5/2020.
<https://mises.org/wire/did-tariffs-really-cause-american-civil-war>
- ¹⁰⁶ Guelzo, Allen C., *Abraham Lincoln Redeemer President*, (Grand Rapids, Mich, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.,1999) 326-327.
- ¹⁰⁷ "War Department General Order 143: Creation of the U.S. Colored Troops (Assistant General's Office, Washington, May 22, 1863) " accessed 2020.
<https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/index.html?dod-date=522>
- ¹⁰⁸ Oakes, James, *Freedom National : The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861-1865*, 2013: New York and London, W. W. Norton & Co., pg. 380-381.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. Volume 8.
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/lincoln/lincoln8/1:1.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext>
- ¹¹⁰ Author's count of units per Wikipedia.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_United_States_Colored_Troops_Civil_War_units
- ¹¹¹ Schenkman, David E., *Civil War Tokens and Cardboard Scrip*, (Maryland, Jade House Publications, 1983), 7.
- ¹¹² Author's count of sutlers listed by Schenkman.
- ¹¹³ Schenkman, David E., *Civil War Tokens and Cardboard Scrip*, (Maryland, Jade House Publications, 1983). 10.
- ¹¹⁴ Murphy, Ric, Stephens, Timothy, *Section 27 and Freedman's Village in Arlington Cemetery: The African American History of America's Most Hallowed Ground*, 2020, McFarland & Co., North Carolina, pg 118.
https://books.google.com/books?id=gT3VDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA118&lpg=PA118&dq=%221,327%22+%22battle+of+the+Crater%22+%22Colored+Troops%22+%22casualties%22&source=bl&ots=uug0kx6DWE&sig=ACfU3U3y2oEakkje7EJIIYIS0rP3TaTA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj_kbWex_7oAhXJU80KHfRnAxwQ6AEwFHoECA8QAQ#v=oneage&q=%221%2C327%22%20%22battle%20of%20the%20Crater%22%20%22Colored%20Troops%22%20%22casualties%22&f=false
- ¹¹⁵ https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/nmaahc_2011.4.6
- ¹¹⁶ Maier, Larry B. and Stahl, Joseph W., *Identification Discs of Union Soldiers in the Civil War*, 2008, North Carolina, McFarland & Co, page 14.
- ¹¹⁷ Schenkman, David E., 87.

- ¹¹⁸ Miller, Terry L., *African Americans in Culpeper, Orange, Madison and Rappahannock Counties (Virginia)* 2019: Arcadia Publishing, South Carolina Pg. 27.
https://books.google.com/books?id=cKF8DwAAQBAJ&pg=PA27&lpg=PA27&dq=%22Qualls+Tibbs%22&source=bl&ots=BKVEMDBo1N&sig=ACfU3U03fgnIx_IVXiuTi3jXlpS4dHhLVw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi_nJSEhf3oAhVWYs0KHXx0CAg4ChDoATAFegQIDBAB#v=onepage&q=%22Qualls%20Tibbs%22&f=false
- ¹¹⁹ Mezurek, Kelly D. *For Their Own Cause: The 27th United States Colored Troops*, 2016, Kent University Press, Ohio.
- ¹²⁰ Percoco, Jim, American Battlefield Trust website, accessed 4/23/2020.
<https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/united-states-colored-troops>
- ¹²¹ Frederick Douglass quoted by Sean McLachlan, *The United States Colored Troops: The History and Legacy of the Black Soldiers Who Fought in the American Civil War*, Published by Charles Rivers Editors, from the digital edition 4/23/2020, introduction.
- ¹²² *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. Volume 7, Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg.
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/lincoln/lincoln7/1:40?rgn=div1;singlegenre=All;sort=occur;subview=detail;type=simple;view=fulltext;q1=last+full+measure>